Report of the Finnish Translator-Secretary to the Socialist Party Natonal Convention [May 1912]

by J.W. Sarlund

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To the Socialist Party National Convention, 1912:

The organizing of the Finns into the Socialist party was mainly begun in 1902 and 1903, and during the years following there were scores of Finnish locals and branches organized. But the movement was weak until our present form of national organization, composed of all Finnish locals and branches of the Socialist Party, was started in 1906 and the Translator's office established at the party's national headquarters beginning with the year 1907. At the beginning there were 53 branches in the organization with membership of about 2,000. With this small but promising group of units and members our organization was then heartily recognized by the Socialist Party, through its National Executive Committee and National Secretary, and a space for our Translator in the national headquarters was arranged for. Of course, we had to have our own office fixtures, pay rent for the space, and compensate our Translator-Secretary, but the simple recognition and the moral and advisory aid given to us by the Socialist Party was of great help to our organization when added to the praiseworthy enthusiasm in the rank and file. From May 1908, we have had the office space free, and from October 1910, the Translator's wages have been paid by the national office. The continuous grown of our organization will be best seen by the following figures as shown by the records in the Translator's office. The average paid-up membership per month and the number of locals in good standing at the end of each year respectively has been as follows:

1907 — 133 locals — membership 2,928
1908 — 160 locals — membership 3,960
1909 — 180 locals — membership 5,384
1910 — 173 locals — membership 7,767
1911 — 217 locals — membership 9,139
1912 — 223 locals — membership 11,483
(*1912 figures as of April 30, 1912*)

The figures showing the financial transaction of the Translator's office during the same period are as follows:

In 1907 — Total receipts, $7,329.52; receipts for party dues, $4,128.36. Total expenditures, $6,545.45; for state and national dues, $3,570.13.

In 1908 — Total receipts, $10,069.82; receipts for party dues, $4,770.45. Total expenditures, $9,964.74; for national dues, $1,939.40; for state dues, $2,121.09.

In 1909 — Total receipts, $15,645.94; receipts for party dues, $6.087.00. Total expenditures, $15,208.79; for national dues, $<*illeg.*>76.10; for state dues $2,862.63.

In 1910 — Total receipts, $18,836.34; receipts for party dues, $8,332.25. Total expenditures, $18,824.39; for national dues $3,539.50; for state dues $4,135.89.

In 1911 — Total receipts, $20,646.46; receipts for party dues, $9,469.52. Total expenditures, $19,578.56; for national dues, $4,604.80; for state dues, $4,755.55.

In 1912 (up to and including April 30) — Total receipts, $11,315; receipts for party dues, $4,087.80. Total expenditures, $9,902.57; for national dues,

$1,993.70; for state dues, $2,094.10.

Besides the receipts and disbursements for party dues the financial transactions consist mainly of the following: Special monthly assessment of 5 cents per member, collected for agitation and organization purposes, which has been permanent during the whole life of our organization and which is required from every affiliated branch; special assessments and donations for the Finnish College; special yearly assessments to our convention fund, and contributions to Finland's socialist and trade union movements; for Russian revolutionists; for the general strike in Sweden ($1,369.70 in 1909), and for every strike, labor controversy, special election fund, etc., in this country, for which a call for funds has been issued among the socialists. The total amount collected as assessments for the College during the years 1909, 1911, and 1912 up to April 30 has been $6,073.79. The next highest sum collected through our organization during 1908, 1910, 1911, and 1912 has been for the socialist movement in Finland, a total of $4,622.92.

To our call for statistics about the activities and conditions of the Finnish locals, during and at the end of last year, 185 of the 217 locals answered. According to the answers of these 185 locals, the following data is given:

The membership of these locals on December 31, 1911, was:

Paid up to date — 8,332; total in the books — 13,391 (of which 9,138 were men and 3,755 were women). Members of labor unions — 2,317; naturalized citizens — 1,635, and 2,234 having the first papers.

Business meetings held during the year — 4,346; propaganda meetings — 2,128; entertainments, etc. — 3,233.

Sub-committees: 83 agitation committees, 12 women's committees, 106 show committees, 22 singing societies, 28 brass bands, 89 sewing clubs, and 53 gymnastic clubs.

Lecture courses were held in 39 locals, for a total time of 58-1/2 weeks and the combined attendance has been 4,576 persons. Schools for English in 21 locals for 615 pupils.

Locals own 19 libraries with 10,061 volumes. Besides there are 62 libraries, with 20,419 volumes, which are not owned by locals, but by all the Finns in each locality and in most cases are controlled and managed by Socialists.

Approximate amount of literature and papers distributed free, $2,436.19.

Approximate amount of literature and papers sold, $22,644.70.

Total receipts for the year, $193,569.47; expenditures, $180,922.50.

Sixty-three of the locals own real estate or hall buildings, or both, with a total valuation of $313,365.11. Total value of shares of stock and bonds to the college and different publishing companies, etc., $55,118.00. Total value of all property belonging to these locals, $550,751.00. Debts to individual members and real estate sellers, $232,084.98. Net resources of all locals combined, $323,964.41.

Approximate Finnish population — men, women, and children — in the localities where these party locals exist is 108,323.

The actual paid-up membership of the Finnish locals and branches of the Socialist Party is well over 10,000. The number of Finnish locals in good standing is 223, which are located in 28 states as follows: Arizona (1), California (6), Colorado (2), Connecticut (1), Florida (1), Idaho (3), Illinois (5), Indiana (2), Maine (5), Massachusetts (17), Michigan (26), Minnesota (48), Montana (10), Nevada (3), New Hampshire (7), New Jersey (3), New York (6), North Dakota (2), Ohio (11), Oregon (3), Pennsylvania (10), Rhode Island (1), Utah (2), Vermont (3), Washington (16), West Virginia (2), Wisconsin (17), Wyoming (10). With the exception of Connecticut, Florida, New York, and Rhode Island and the large cities in California, Ohio, and Oregon, the Finnish locals and branches in these states have had the right to buy their party due stamps from the Translator. The state organizations of Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Wisconsin, and Wyoming have already allowed the Finnish branches the requested 50 percent rebate on state dues, but not always on local dues; California, Montana, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington, and West Virginia are allowing some rebate; and the rest of the states do not allow any at all.

The agitation and organization work is being carried on by the Eastern, Middle, and Western Dis-

trict Committees, which were organized after the plan decided upon at our Hancock convention of 1909. Every district is routing a permanent organizer and special organizers occasionally. While, on account of language difficulties, our work is and has been more of an educational propaganda, still we are trying to take part in the political affairs as well. Our locals are bound, by the prevailing resolution of the Hancock convention, to participate in the affairs of their county and city organization as much as possible, and every effort is being made in the way of urging our members to become American citizens. At least three special organizers will be put in the field during the coming campaign.

The Finnish Socialists of the United States have had three national conventions. The first one was held at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1904; the second one at Hibbing, Minn., in 1906; and the third at Hancock, Mich., in 1909. The welfare of the Socialistic activity among the Finns in this country, the plans of work for our national organization and its relations to the Socialist Party have been the most important matters for discussion at the conventions. The Socialist Party has had a representative at every one of these conventions. Our next convention will be held June 1, 1912, at Duluth, Minn., and most likely it will be not less of importance than any of the previous conventions. One of the propositions is the taking over of our papers and publishing houses into the ownership of the organization.

The Socialist papers in the United States, published in the Finnish language are:

Työmies, a daily, published at Hancock, Mich., circulation of about 12,000; Raivaaja, a daily, published at Fitchburg, Mass., circulation over 6,000; Toveri, a tri-weekly, but will appear as a daily on and after July 1, published at Astoria, Ore., circulation around, 4000; a weekly woman's paper, *Toveritar*, published at Astoria, Ore., has been in existence since July of last year and already has a circulation of over 2,000. A monthly magazine, named *Säkeniä*, is also published at Fitchburg, Mass., and a comic semi-monthly paper, *Lapatossu*, at Hancock, Mich. Besides these, there is Työkansa, published at Port Arthur, Ont., Canada, heretofore a tri-weekly, but by May 1 will be a daily, which is widely circulated among and gets a considerable part of its support from the Finns in the United States. The papers are owned by stock companies, in which the Finnish locals as well as individual Socialists are the shareholders. *Työmies* and *Raivaaja* both own their buildings, convenient for printing and publishing the Socialist message which they have been doing in a most valuable manner.

"Työväen Opisto" (The Working People's College), with its school building and other accommodations at Smithville, Minn., is also owned and controlled by the Finnish Socialists and Socialist locals. This institution is being conducted on the same lines and for the same purposes as workers' universities in European countries. The common school subjects are taught, special stress being put upon the study of the English language, and lectures are given on Socialism and other economic subjects. The attendance in the school has been increasing every year. The tuition has been made as low as possible in order to give an opportunity for a greater number of people to attend. Heretofore the school has been maintained mainly by special assessments and voluntary donations by the locals of our organization, and methods for its support in the future will be discussed at our next convention as well as at the annual meeting of the College stockholders, which will be held after the adjournment of our convention.

As seen by the figures above published, the Finnish Socialists have always been lavish in their support of the movement in the old country. From time to time we have sent over financial aid for the political and educational campaigns of the Socialist Party of Finland. This has not been done for the love of the "fatherland," nor for the purpose of keeping our nationality alive or to simply save the so-called state autonomy of Finland. At least a great majority of us have had a deeper interest in the matter — have had the aim of international Socialism in mind and have given help to that part of the globe where suppression is more felt and where, on the other hand, our cause at present has a considerably strong foothold. It is the fight against the Russian autocracy, which for a decade and a half has used every effort to bring in reaction in place of the advanced education and ever-increasing interest in Socialism in Finland, in which we are taking part. We are in this fight with the struggling proletariat of Russia, and we know that only in the victory of the Socialists in Russia lies the victory of the

Socialists in Finland. Before the victory is won, the struggle may become more pressing, and the time may come when you — the delegates to this convention — and your constituents will be asked to do your utmost in the way directed in the resolution on Finland adopted at the last International Socialist Congress.

In conclusion I take the liberty to make a few suggestions regarding the matters concerning our organization as well as the other foreign-speaking organizations in the American Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party should do everything in its power to organize the so-called foreigners — all kinds of them — as it is the only probable way to prevent them from lowering the American standard of living. The same help should be given to every nationality in order to prevent the capitalist class from using the unorganized and yet unawakened nationalities against the others that happen to be organized and are trying to better their conditions. Agitators should be sent to speak to them in their own language and the organization of all non-English speaking Socialists should be given all possible forward push. The provisions for conducting the work of national non-English speaking organizations should be made a part of the national constitution and such part of the constitution made imperative to all state and local organizations, without regard to any state autonomy, as the welfare of these organizations affects the national party as a whole. The provisions in the present constitution have been of good help for non-English speaking organizations, but some modifications in them should be made. It should be strictly provided that only one national organization of the same language shall be admitted or recognized by the Socialist Party; branches of non-English speaking organizations should belong to the national party only on the condition that they also belong to their respective state organizations should belong to the national party only on the condition that they also belong to their respective state organizations; the non-English speaking organizations should not be compelled to come under the jurisdiction of the county and city organizations, but in political campaigns and conventions for political purposes they should have equal standing with the rest (this provision has been successfully practiced in the state of Washington, for instance); an allowance of a certain amount, say 50 percent, of the state and local dues should be granted for use in agitation and organization work by such organizations; for the present the non-English speaking branches, no matter in what state or county they are located, should have the privilege of buying their party dues stamps from their respective national Translator-Secretaries.

The more you help the foreigners to organize, the sooner they cease to be foreigners. When, in the course of time, the National Finnish Organization will be no more a necessity, the moral spirit and the material holdings, which then will be left to the Socialist Party, will be worth receiving.

Fraternally submitted,

J.W. Sarlund,
Translator-Secretary

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Report of Italian Section to the Socialist Party National Convention [May 1912]

by Joseph Corti

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To the Socialist Party National Convention, 1912:

The activity of the Italians in the Socialist Party began in the latter part of the year 1908, after a tour through the country made by Comrade G. Bertelli, under the auspices of the National Office.

With the closing of the presidential campaign of that year the Socialist Party counted about 40 Italian branches. Very few were the Italian branches affiliated with the party before the year 1908.

In the following year, 1909, a movement was started by the New York branches to organize all the Italian branches of the party into a national organization in order to carry on the Socialist propaganda among the Italian immigrants. A convention was called in West Hoboken, NJ, for that purpose, but it had failed in its very beginning and nothing concrete could be accomplished.

A year after the West Hoboken, NJ, convention, December 1910, with the consent of the National Office, the Italian Section was formally organized with about twenty branches, less than half of the total Italian branches affiliated with the party in that time, for the other branches did not fully realize the necessity of such an organization.

From December 1910 till October 1911, twenty-two branches joined the Section, but in the same period of time fourteen branches disbanded.

When I took the office as Translator-Secretary September 1911, the Section consisted of twenty-eight branches with less than 660 members, although the Translator-Secretary was in communication with more than twenty other Italian branches directly connected with the party.

In the last seven months (September 1911 to April 15, 1912) seventeen new branches were organized and eight branches joined, while eight have disbanded, leaving a total of forty-four branches alive and in good standing, scattered in the following states:

Illinois	14
New York	14
New Jersey	4
Pennsylvania	3
Massachusetts	3
Wisconsin	3
Vermont	2
Florida	1
Colorado	1

These have a total membership of 1,200.

Italian branches of the party not affiliated with our Section, but in communication with the Translator-Secretary, can be found in the following states: Pennsylvania, 6; Montana, 1; Illinois, 6; Michigan, 2; New Jersey, 3; Indiana, 1.

Italian members of the party can also be found in all the mining districts, especially in the states of Illinois, Michigan, and Pennsylvania, where the party branches are mixed of different nationalities and also in many industrial centers.

The Socialist sentiment is very strong among the

Italian workers in this country, and it will be only a matter of time to have a strong Italian organization, which will no doubt be able to accomplish its mission in organizing and educating the Italian workers in this country without the assistance of the party.

Party Press.

Our press consists of three weekly papers: *La Parola Del Socialisti*, official organ, published in Chicago, Illinois, with an average circulation of three thousand copies. *La Fiaccola*, published in Buffalo, NY, with 1,500 copies circulation weekly. *La Flamma*, published in Camden, NJ, with two thousand copies circulation.

The latter two weeklies will be combined in the near future, following a resolution passed at the interstate convention held in Schenectady, NY, April 7 and 8, 1912.

The New York branches and vicinity are working to establish a weekly paper of their own.

Oral Propaganda and Organizers.

From October 1911 to April 1912, about 120 lectures have been delivered by A. Cravello, as a special organizer, in a three months' tour, and by G. Corti, A. Caroti, S. Bonfiglio, and G. Bertelli. The states covered were Illinois, Wisconsin, New York, Kansas, and New Jersey.

For the coming national campaign we have secured as a speaker one of the best orators and propagandists on the Italian platform, Miss A. Balabanoff, who will be in this country for the middle of May for a four months' tour.

At the same time Comrade V. Vacirca, publicist and orator, has left the city of Trieste the 13th of this month [April 1912], bound for New York, who, after a short stay in that city, will come to Chicago to edit our official organ until he becomes acquainted with the American movement; then, he will be engaged as an organizer.

The future is full of promise and the prospects are very bright to our young movement. With a permanent organizer in the field, we are sure that in a year's time we will double the members of our branches and will build up a strong party press, without which we would not be able to accomplish much.

Fraternally submitted,

Joseph Corti,
Translator-Secretary

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Report of Polish Section to the Socialist Party National Convention

[May 1912]

by H. Gluski

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To the Socialist Party National Convention, 1912:

My report will be very brief, consisting only of figures, as they are more convincing and reliable.

General.

Four years ago, in December 1908, the Polish Section of the Socialist Party was organized, with 28 branches and 400 members. But only a year ago, in April 1911, the Polish Translator-Secretary's office was established. Therefore, I can give my report only for the period since then.

On December 31, 1911, the Polish Section was composed of 115 branches with a membership of 1,450 in good standing. The total membership was 2,130 members. During the year of 1911 there were 59 new branches organized and 25 branches dissolved. The net gain in the membership for the last year was 105 percent.

From January 1 to March 31, 1912, there were 17 new branches organized and two dissolved, leaving 130 branches with a membership of 2,000 in good standing. The total membership was 2,460 members.

Dues Stamps.

My first monthly report of the sale of dues stamps was made for the month of April 1911, the amount of which was $31.40, representing 628 members in good standing. The above sum was paid to the National Office and $25.06 paid to several different state offices, as our branches, all of them, belong to their respective state organizations. Since that time a steady growth can be noticed up to the present time. Each month broke the record for the previous one. In March 1912, the sale of dues stamps to the Polish branches amounted to $78.15 paid to the National Office and $63.07 paid to the State and County offices. This does not include the Polish branches in the States of New Jersey and New York, as the Polish branches in these two states secure their dues stamps directly from the locals, because these state and country organizations compel them to do so for reasons unknown to us. As there are 31 Polish branches in these two states, the Polish section represents altogether 130 branches and 2,000 members in good standing. The total membership is 2,460.

Agitation and Organization.

During the last year two speakers were in the field, one for five months and the other for three months. Since January 1, 1912, one organizer was in the field for two months and on April 9th another lecturer was sent out on a lecture tour, which will continue until July 8th.

Press and Literature.

The Polish Section publishes one daily paper, *Dzienik Ludowy*, and one weekly, *Bicz Bozy*. During the year 1911 there was literature sold and distributed to the amount of $1,285.

The above does not include subscriptions secured for our papers.

In conclusion I wish to say that the prospects for the future are bright and in not a very distant time the Polish Section will bring into the Socialist Party a large portion of the Polish people living in this country.

Respectfully submitted,

H. Gluski
Translator-Secretary

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Report of the Polish Alliance to the Socialist Party National Convention

[May 1912]

by L. Banka

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To the Socialist Party National Convention, 1912:

Dear Comrades:—

Herewith I submit a statistical report of our organization as it stands on April 20, 1912:

Our branches are situated in fourteen states and Canada, as follows:

Connecticut	5
New York	11
New Jersey	16
Pennsylvania	18
Massachusetts	18
Rhode Island	3
Michigan	2
Illinois	6
Ohio	5
Indiana	4
Oregon	1
California	2
Maryland	1
Washington	1
Canada	4
Total	97

Membership dues paid for:

January	197
February	356
March	763
April	307
Total	1,623

Members in arrears over three months not included.

Fraternally yours,

L. Banka
Translator-Secretary

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Report of Bohemian Section to the Socialist Party National Convention [May 1912]

by Josef Novak

Published in John Spargo (ed.): *Proceedings: National Convention of the Socialist Party, 1912.* (Chicago, IL: The Socialist Party, n.d. [1912]), pp. 242-243.

To the Socialist Party National Convention, 1912:

The Bohemian Socialist movement in the United States has been in existence more than fifteen years, but the Bohemian Section was affiliated with the Socialist Party of America as a foreign-speaking organization in December 1911, and the present Translator-Secretary took his office on December 13, 1911. At that time the Bohemian Section had 37 branches with a membership of about 800, in ten states.

From December 1911 to March 31, 1912, seven new branches were organized, and the Bohemian Section had 44 branches in eleven states, with 1,164 members. The Bohemian branches are in the following cities: Chicago, Ill., 13; Baltimore, Md. 1; New Bedford, Mass., 1; St. Louis, Mo., 1; Omaha, Neb., 2; South Omaha, Neb., 2; Elizabeth, N.J., 1; Union Hill, N.J., 1; Buffalo, N.Y., 1; New York, N.Y., 1; Winfield, N.Y., 1; Cleveland, Ohio, 5; Bellaire, 1; Bridgeport, 1; Neffs, 1; Allegheny, Pa., 1; Irwin, 1; Loyalhanna, 1; Mt. Pleasant, 1; North Braddock, 1; Philadelphia, 1; Wilmerding, 1; Taylor Crossing, Va., 1; Manitowoc, Wis., 1; Milwaukee, 1; Racine, 1.

The Bohemian Section resolved by referendum vote that every Bohemian branch has to belong to state and county. No Bohemian branch can buy the party dues stamps unless it pays the dues to the state and county. It is the opinion of the membership of the Bohemian Section that to take in branches and members to the Section which are not affiliated with state and county would be a step backward.

After the very successful tour of Comrade Dr. Francis Soukup from Prague, Bohemia, who was here last year and accomplished very good results, the Bohemian Section decided by referendum vote to get in closer relationship with the Social Democratic Party in Bohemia and get a good organizer every year. Another important step was taken by the establishing of an information bureau for the purpose of warning the Bohemian workingmen regarding steamship companies' agents, who are encouraging the emigration and, under false pretenses, are painting the beautiful life in America to get business. Immigrants after coming here are disappointed and are used by patriotic American capitalists to lower the standard of living for the working class. For such Bohemian comrades who are members of the party in the old country and have decided to come to the United States the Bohemian Section established an information bureau to assist them in every possible way and to keep them in the party.

The Bohemian Section owns and controls five papers — one daily and four weeklies. The oldest of them, the weekly *Spravedlnost* (Justice), has been published since 1900. Eight years ago the Bohemian Section bought property — three lots and two buildings — at 1821-1826 Loomis Street, in Chicago, where the printing plant was established.

In 1906 the daily *Spravedlnost* was started. In addition to newspaper printing, the plant has a modern and well-equipped job printing department. Last year a new press was bought for $6,500, payable in installments in four years. The daily is not self-supporting at present, and the deficit is paid by collections, profit from different party affairs, such as bazaars, balls, picnics, etc.

In 1908 the Bohemian branches began to publish in Cleveland, Ohio, a weekly paper, *Americke*

Delnicke Listy (American Workingmen's News), to which they added in 1912 another weekly, *Pravo* (The Right). Both papers are printed in Cleveland in their own printing shop. This printing shop also has a job printing department.

In 1911 the Bohemian branch in New York, in cooperation with the Bohemian trade unions, started a weekly paper, *Obrana* (The Defense). In addition to papers, the Bohemian Section is publishing other literature — books, pamphlets, etc. During the year of 1911 the amount received for literature was more than $1,000.

All the papers are owned direct by the Section, and the Board of Directors of same is elected by referendum vote, only members in good standing having votes.

The Bohemian Section has seven woman branches — two in Chicago, two in Cleveland, one in Omaha, one in South Omaha, and one in Baltimore. In organizing women the Section has had to face some difficulties in regard to the dues question, as the women are complaining of high dues. The Bohemian Section is awaiting some reform in this question from the convention.

One of the features of the Bohemian Socialist movement is the organizing of gymnastic associations, where both boys and girls are active members. This organization of young people is a recruiting station for Bohemian branches. It takes care of children from six years up for physical development, and when they reach the age of 18 years they become party members. In this way the Bohemian Socialist movement lays a strong foundation for spreading Socialism among the youth. At present the gymnastic associations are in the following cities: Chicago, 6; Cleveland, 3; Dillonvale, O., 1; and North Braddock, Pa., 1. This organization was formed three years ago, and at present has about 1,000 members, both men and women.

Fraternally submitted,

Josef Novak
Translator-Secretary

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Report of Scandinavian Section to the Socialist Party National Convention. [May 1912]

by N. Juel Christensen

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Organization.

The Scandinavian Socialist Federation was organized at a convention held for this purpose in the city of Chicago, July 2, 3, 4, 1910.

At the beginning of the year 1911 the Federation consisted of seven branches with a membership of 216. During the year of 1911 the number of branches was increased to 20 with a membership of 784, and today it has thirty branches with a membership of over 1,000. Outside of the Federation are still a few Scandinavian branches not yet affiliated, mostly on account of technicalities and other hindrances, but it is believed that these obstacles will be overcome in the near future.

Our relation to the national and state organizations has, with a few exceptions, been the very best. The Federation has decided that all its branches shall be affiliated with the state and county organizations, and cooperate with them at all elections and otherwise.

Agitation.

The work of agitation has been carried on to as large a degree as the resources of the Federation would allow. At the beginning of 1911 we had only one small branch in the East, namely: Kearney Branch No. 3, New Jersey, and for a long time it seemed to be impossible for us to make any headway in that part of the country, mostly on account of the strong SLP movement among the Scandinavians in the East, but the opposition seems now to be broken. The comrades out there have been working hard and steady and today we have eight active branches in the eastern states. We expect that this number shall be more than doubled as the result of an extensive organizing tour which Comrade Frithjof Werenskjold now is making under the direction of our Federation and with the assistance of the National Office.

During the months of November and December 1911, the National Office routed Comrade E. Sibiakoffsky through the middle states, which resulted in the organization of ten new branches.

In the western states where the Scandinavian population is largest there are at present very few branches of the Federation, but our National Committee has now decided to send Comrade Werenskjold out there as soon as his work in the East is completed.

Our agitation among women has been neglected until a few months ago, but now the number of women members in our organization is steadily increasing.

Press.

The Scandinavian Socialist Federation is publishing two weekly propaganda papers: *The Svenska Socialisten* [The Swedish Socialist] in the Swedish language and *The Social Demokraten* in the Danish language. These two papers are owned and controlled by the Federation directly. The only certificate that gives a voice and vote in deciding their policy and management is a paid up membership book. Fake advertisements, such as patent medicine, land and mining schemes as well as advertisements from saloons and liquor dealers have never been accepted by these papers, and, in spite of financial difficulties, our members are determined to never compromise on these

points. The circulation of the papers has increased rapidly during the last few months, which to a large degree is due to the work of the Lyceum Course. Their present combined circulation is a little over 5,000. If the increase of their circulation continues at the present rate, then they will be self-supporting before the year is gone.

Press Fund.

In order to meet the deficit of our papers, the Federation has provided for a press fund. This fund gets its income from special assessments, contributions, picnics, etc.

Literature.

The Federation has established its own literature department, which was begun on February 1, 1912. Several thousand pamphlets have already been published and sold, and we intend to develop this department to such an extent that we shall be able to meet all demands for Socialistic literature in the Scandinavian languages.

Information Bureau for Immigrants.

In order to assist the immigrants from the Scandinavian countries, helping them to find work and keep in touch with the American labor movement, etc. we are at present negotiating with the Socialist and other organizations in these countries for the purpose of establishing some kind of cooperation in this direction. We have always urged strongly upon our membership to become citizens in order to acquire their political rights, and in this work we have been very successful.

Conclusion.

During the childhood of the Scandinavian Socialist Federation it has been nobly assisted by the Finnish comrades as well as the National Office of the Socialist Party, thus making it possible for the young organization to survive the hardships it had to pass through and to carry on the work it has undertaken to do.

We cannot boast, ourselves, of any great achievement, but we believe that a good solid foundation for the organization has been laid, and if it is allowed to develop unhindered, and in the future will be met with the same good understanding as in the past, then the Scandinavian Socialist Federation will surely be able to fulfill the mission for which it has organized.

By order of the Executive Committee,

Fraternally submitted,

N. Juel Christensen
Translator-Secretary

Edited by Tim Davenport.
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http://www.marxists.org/subject/usa/eam/index.html

Report of Scandinavian Section to the Socialist Party National Convention. [May 1912]

by N. Juel Christensen

Published in John Spargo (ed.): *Proceedings: National Convention of the Socialist Party, 1912.* (Chicago, IL: The Socialist Party, n.d. [1912]), pp. 242-243.

Organization.

The Scandinavian Socialist Federation was organized at a convention held for this purpose in the city of Chicago, July 2, 3, 4, 1910.

At the beginning of the year 1911 the Federation consisted of seven branches with a membership of 216. During the year of 1911 the number of branches was increased to 20 with a membership of 784, and today it has thirty branches with a membership of over 1,000. Outside of the Federation are still a few Scandinavian branches not yet affiliated, mostly on account of technicalities and other hindrances, but it is believed that these obstacles will be overcome in the near future.

Our relation to the national and state organizations has, with a few exceptions, been the very best. The Federation has decided that all its branches shall be affiliated with the state and county organizations, and cooperate with them at all elections and otherwise.

Agitation.

The work of agitation has been carried on to as large a degree as the resources of the Federation would allow. At the beginning of 1911 we had only one small branch in the East, namely: Kearney Branch No. 3, New Jersey, and for a long time it seemed to be impossible for us to make any headway in that part of the country, mostly on account of the strong SLP movement among the Scandinavians in the East, but the opposition seems now to be broken. The comrades out there have been working hard and steady and today we have eight active branches in the eastern states. We expect that this number shall be more than doubled as the result of an extensive organizing tour which Comrade Frithjof Werenskjold now is making under the direction of our Federation and with the assistance of the National Office.

During the months of November and December 1911, the National Office routed Comrade E. Sibiakoffsky through the middle states, which resulted in the organization of ten new branches.

In the western states where the Scandinavian population is largest there are at present very few branches of the Federation, but our National Committee has now decided to send Comrade Werenskjold out there as soon as his work in the East is completed.

Our agitation among women has been neglected until a few months ago, but now the number of women members in our organization is steadily increasing.

Press.

The Scandinavian Socialist Federation is publishing two weekly propaganda papers: *The Svenska Socialisten* [The Swedish Socialist] in the Swedish language and *The Social Demokraten* in the Danish language. These two papers are owned and controlled by the Federation directly. The only certificate that gives a voice and vote in deciding their policy and management is a paid up membership book. Fake advertisements, such as patent medicine, land and mining schemes as well as advertisements from saloons and liquor dealers have never been accepted by these papers, and, in spite of financial difficulties, our members are determined to never compromise on these

points. The circulation of the papers has increased rapidly during the last few months, which to a large degree is due to the work of the Lyceum Course. Their present combined circulation is a little over 5,000. If the increase of their circulation continues at the present rate, then they will be self-supporting before the year is gone.

Press Fund.

In order to meet the deficit of our papers, the Federation has provided for a press fund. This fund gets its income from special assessments, contributions, picnics, etc.

Literature.

The Federation has established its own literature department, which was begun on February 1, 1912. Several thousand pamphlets have already been published and sold, and we intend to develop this department to such an extent that we shall be able to meet all demands for Socialistic literature in the Scandinavian languages.

Information Bureau for Immigrants.

In order to assist the immigrants from the Scandinavian countries, helping them to find work and keep in touch with the American labor movement, etc. we are at present negotiating with the Socialist and other organizations in these countries for the purpose of establishing some kind of cooperation in this direction. We have always urged strongly upon our membership to become citizens in order to acquire their political rights, and in this work we have been very successful.

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Report Submitted in Behalf of the Jewish Socialist Agitation Bureau to the Socialist Party National Convention. [May 1912]

by Jacob Panken

Published in John Spargo (ed.): ***Proceedings: National Convention of the Socialist Party, 1912.*** **(Chicago, IL: The Socialist Party, n.d. [1912]), pg. 244**

This foreign-speaking organization is organized on an entirely different basis than any of the other foreign-speaking organizations. The membership is affiliated with the Socialist Party in the respective states and counties directly, paying the same dues as the English-speaking members of such localities do. The branches of the Bureau are in every respect similar to the ordinary party locals or branches, excepting that they use and speak the Jewish language in their meetings and to a great extent use the same in the general propaganda.

Since the last Socialist Congress held in Chicago, 1910, the Bureau has extended its usefulness over 30 states. In the last two years it has organized 16 new branches which are directly affiliated with the party, taking their places side by side with the English speaking organizations.

While the Bureau is not connected directly with the national Socialist Party, as provided for in the National Constitution, the National Executive Committee has helped the Bureau in its work materially, donating sums of money for propaganda purposes, and the National Secretary helping by valuable advice.

A partial report of the work actually done, which we herein submit, will clearly show the good that can be accomplished by foreign-speaking organizations among the immigrant workers in America.

Hall Meetings.

May 1910 - May 1912	320
Average attendance	200
Total attendance	64,000

Leaflets published and sold	150,000
Price per 1,000	$1.50
Total	$225.00

Leaflets Distributed by the Bureau.

Without cost to the branches	40,000

Booklets Published and Sold.

Various Booklets	15,000

These booklets were sold in 1911 for prices ranging from $20.00 to $35.00 per thousand.

American Government Booklets Sold ($70 per M.)	4,000

The American Government Booklet referred to is one that could be easily translated into other languages and would be of invaluable use among immigrant workers of other nationalities.

At the present time the Bureau is in communication with upwards of 80 branches in about 30 states. Besides, it is in communication with hundreds of branches of the Workman's Circle. It might be added that the Workman's Circle is of great help to this Bureau in its work.

There can hardly be two opinions as to the necessity of foreign-speaking organizations. The comrades of the non-English speaking nations are surely best fitted to carry on the propaganda among their own people. Yet, in some instances, local county organiza-

tions have refused to permit the organization of Language Groups.

The Constitution should be amended so as to give foreign comrades speaking foreign languages the right to organize separate branches and to conduct their affairs in the language they know best. At the same time it should be provided that all branches must affiliate with the local movement in their respective localities, and through these local organizations with the National party.

J. Panken
Delegate, Jewish Socialist Agitation Bureau

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Report by the Executive Committee, National Lettish [Latvian] Organization, SP to the National Convention, May 1912.

by C. Karklin

Published in John Spargo (ed.): ***Proceedings: National Convention of the Socialist Party, 1912.*** **(Chicago, IL: The Socialist Party, n.d. [1912]), pp. 244- 248.**

A. Membership.

Our membership is scattered through twelve different states of the union, some of them are in Canada. It is a tremendous task to keep them together. In 1910 we had 27 clubs with a total membership of 1001; at the present moment we have 26 clubs with 983 good standing members, among them 210 women.

This decrease of membership is due to the fact that the Boston Lettish Workers' Association withdrew from our organization, as we have stated in our previous report to National Secretary Comrade J.M. Barnes. The BLWA with its 170 members, has remained, however, in the SP.

All our members are organized in branches and locals of the SP and are directly affiliated both with the state and local organizations of the party. They pay regular national, state, and local dues.

The vast majority of our members have applied for citizenship, yet few have obtained their second papers.

Last year our rival organization among the Lettish workers, the Lettish Federation of the SLP split up. Since then about 50 of its members as individuals have joined the SP, either through our branches or otherwise.

B. Finances.

During the two calendar years 1910 and 1911 our members have paid:

(1) Dues to the SP (national, state, and local) $3,272.00

(2) Dues to our branches for their local organization $1,097.37

(3) Collections and subscriptions for the Lettish Social Democracy in Russia $1,093.35

This includes $705.47 for the Relief Fund of political prisoners.

(4) Our branches have collected for the Political Refugee Defense League on various occasions $244.13

C. Referenda.

In 1910 our membership adopted Referendum 1a, requiring that wives of our members not engaged directly in industrial occupations should be freed from membership dues.

For — 265; Against — 244.

In January 1911, this rule was reversed by another Referendum No. 2 vote, with 463 to 30.

Referendum 1b provides that the Executive Committee of our organization pay the printers of our semi-weekly *Strahdneeks* sick insurance of $1 a month.

For — 279; Against — 201.

Referendum 2a provides that the accounts and funds of the Executive Committee of our organizations should be audited not by the Boston Branch alone, but by three auditors elected by our Boston, New York, and Lawrence branches, and that the auditing committee should report its findings in our paper twice a year.

For — 273; Against — 210.

Referendum 2b. That Comrades J. Klawa and J. Tomin be sent to the Chicago convention of the Socialist Party. Vote closed May 1910. Comrade Klawa elected with 345 votes, and Comrade Tomin with 234.

Referendum No. 3, Dec. 1910. Elections of New

Executive Committee.

In 1911 Referendum No. 1. Election of the editor of our semi-weekly *Strahdneeks*. In January 1911, Comrade John G. Ohsol elected with 427 votes.

Referendum No. 3. Amended slightly our constitution. Carried in May [1911] with 509 to 9.

Referendum No. 4, providing that the editor of the *Strahdneeks* be paid full wages ($15 a week) also those weeks when, owing to holidays, only one issue of our paper is published, was rejected with 245 to 217 in September 1911.

Referendum No. 5a provides that 45 days time be granted for the discussion of proposed referenda instead of 30. Carried in September 1911, with 400 to 65.

Referendum No. 5b provides that our Executive Committee elections should be changed so as to make the committee serve for one year from April 1 to March 31, instead of the calendar year. Carried with 461 to 13.

Referendum No. 6. Election of the editor of the Strahdneeks for the year 1912. Elected Comrade John G. Ohsol with 437 votes.

D. Agitation and Propaganda.

The chief business of the Executive Committee of our organization is the publishing of the *Strahdneeks*, which is a 4-page semi-weekly (21 x 31 inches), and is being printed in Fitchburg, Mass. Since October 1911, once every two weeks it has a literary supplement. The number of its subscribers varies between 1200-1500, the price is $3.00 per year. We employ two printers, two editors, and one mailing clerk.

Besides the subscriptions we have received towards the sustenance of the paper:

(1) Special dues from our members, 15 cents per capita per month, in

1910	$1,378.76
1911	1,476.90
(2) Donations:	
1910	$250.00
1911	422.15
(3) From advertisements:	
1910	$600.00
1911	800.00

This paper is our chief propaganda and organizing medium. In fact it is the only means of keeping our members together. We are positively sure that the interest of our members in the English Socialist press is constantly increasing, as is witnessed by the discussions of our members in the *Strahdneeks*, on party tactics, and in the Haywood-Hillquit controversy, on law and order, and on our party attitude towards trade unions.

On January 1, 1912, there were 7 propaganda circles in our various branches with a total membership of 105. During the year 1911 those circles had 31 propaganda meetings.

Large agitation meetings are being held by our Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and San Francisco branches, every year on October 30th (in memoriam of the October Manifesto in Russia, 1905), on January 22nd (Red Sunday memorial), and in March (Commune memorial). Needless to add that our branches everywhere are taking active and energetic part in all propaganda and agitation work carried on by the English speaking locals of the party. Our members responded liberally to the McNamara defense fund, toward the support of the Lawrence strikers, etc.

Our Socialist book agency, now located at Fitchburg, Mass., has been in business since 1907. Its object is to supply our members as cheaply as possible with Socialist literature in Russian, Lettish, German, and English. At the present moment the total value of our book supply, both at Fitchburg and at the branches, is $1,810.70, while in 1910 it was $1,429.19. During the last three years (1910, 1911, 1912) we have published a fairly good sized (7 x 10 inch, 96-112 pages) Socialist Almanac, 1500-2000 copies. We hope to continue this line of work and may possibly publish some pamphlets also.

Some of our branches (Boston Lettish No. 2, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia) occasionally circulate special agitational leaflets.

One of the chief duties of our organization has been to introduce our members to the SP so as to make them permanent and active workers within the English speaking body of our party. To that end the Eastern Coast Agitation Bureau was formed by the end of 1909, comprising our ten branches in Massachusetts (Boston, Lawrence, Beverly), New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, with 536 members.

We hope to form a similar agitation bureau around Chicago before long. We have instructed our lecturer, Comrade J.G. Ohsol, to help organize such a bureau on his present lecturing trip in Chicago, Aurora, St. Louis, Cleveland, and Minneapolis. These five branches have a membership of 264.

Our Eastern Coast Agitation Bureau has arranged the following agitation trips:

1. Spring 1910, by Comrade J. Klawa, who lectured on
   (1) Darwinism.
   (2) Woman's suffrage.
   (3) Materialistic interpretation of history.
2. September 1910, by Comrade John G. Ohsol, who lectured on
   (1) New currents in the American trade unions.
   (2) The minimum wage.
   (3) The Constitution of the US vs. the working class.
3. February 1911, by Comrade K. Janson, whose topics were:
   (1) Cooperatives.
   (2) Intellectuals and Socialism.
   (3) Socialist attitude towards general strike.
4. May 1911, by Comrade G. Bernhard on
   (1) American literature.
   (2) Development of Capitalism in US.
   (3) Growth of Socialism in US.
5. In September 1911, by Comrade R. Hansen, on
   (1) Russian politics.
   (2) Socialist tactics in municipalities.
   (3) Social growth and natural growth.
6. In February 1912, by Comrade Sierin, on
   (1) The Chinese Revolution.
   (2) SP attitude towards trade unions.
   (3) Darwinism and Socialism.
   (4) Significance of Art in Life.
   (5) Materialistic interpretation of history.

Each agitation trip, including two weeks' wages ($12.00 each) for the lecturer, has cost the bureau about $60.00.

On December 24th and 25th, 1911, the Agitation Bureau called a conference in New York City, where among several technical details of organization and propaganda work, also some resolutions on general questions were adopted.

As the conference was merely a deliberative body, these resolutions were nothing but suggestions to our branches. All those resolutions were taken up by the branches, discussed at their meetings and in the *Strahdneeks*, and subsequently adopted as recommendations to our party institutions, subject to their consideration and approval.

We quote these resolutions here:

On the Attitude of the SP Towards the Trade Unions.

1. Whereas, For the complete emancipation of the working class from its intellectual, political, and economic bondage, both the political and the economic struggle are equally necessary, and as for the successful conduct of this struggle in nearly all countries permanent relations between economic organizations of the workers and Socialist parties have been established.

2. Whereas, In the United States the existing relations between the SP and the trade unions are very weak and sporadic.

3. Whereas, The activities of the SP members among the trade unions are unsuccessful as long as those activities are not coordinated and led by the party institutions.

4. Whereas, The members of the SP often have turned over without fight the responsible posts in the trade unions to the agents of the Civic Federation and to other opponents of class struggle, who are tying up the trade unions with capitalist politics and are resisting the spread of Socialism among the organized proletariat.

5. Whereas, The trade unions, in denying the existence of class struggle, are upholding among their rank and file the craft spirit, which splits up the economic struggle, leads to civil strife among the craft organizations, and to many lost battles of labor.

6. Whereas, Such lost battles have forced some members of the trade unions to resort to desperate means (McNamara case) which, in the first place are a demoralizing influence upon labor organizations, and second, are helping along the crusade of the capitalist organization and the government against the proletariat.

We suggest:

1. That all members of the SP join their respective trade unions.

2. That the members of the SP in each trade union come to a better understanding among each other that under the guidance of the responsible party authorities they should be able more successfully to explain from the Socialist point of view all issues resulting from the economic struggle, and thus educate the members of the trade unions to a better understanding of the class struggle.

3. That the members of the SP nominate their own candidates for responsible offices in the trade unions, especially in the referendum elections and in conventions.

4. That our comrades strive towards uniting the various mutual independent economic organizations which are acting in one and the same establishment, in one and the same industry, or in the same territory, into such centralized bodies of economic organizations as in each given case the solidarity of all workers in the class struggle requires.

5. That the central institution of the SP have to take care of establishing relations with the central bodies of the unions both during periods of great economic and political battles, and during the regular parliamentary struggle for labor legislation with the ultimate end in view that permanent organized relations between both militant bodies of organized proletariat be secured.

Resolution on Party Central Organ.

1. Whereas, The central organ is one of the most necessary means of securing the party unit in its intellectual leadership, as well as in its organization.

2. Whereas, The lack of such an organ has led the SP to confusion in theory and practice (organization), as witnessed by:

(a) The Arizona and Missouri controversies.

(b) The syndicalist theories preached in the *International Socialist Review*, by the campaign of slander against party institutions and party officials carried on by the *Christian Socialist*, *Provoker*, and *The Militant*.

(c) By the sudden change of the party program in regard to our agrarian policy.

(d) By the too frequent and haphazard referenda about the change of our party constitution.

3. Whereas, Nearly all Socialist papers are at the present time private concerns, which require large sacrifices from individual members as well as from party institutions, but do not feel obliged to stand up for the interests of the party as a whole in many important questions.

4. Whereas, The party, owing to the absence of a central organ, is unable to take a definite stand on many important political issues and questions of tactics, because the resolutions of the National Executive Committee often give only technical hints.

5. Whereas, The present Party Bulletin, owing to its limited and dry material, can not replace a party organ.

Be it resolved:

1. That a national referendum vote be taken in order to change immediately the respective sections of our national constitution so as to empower the National Executive Committee to establish a central organ.

2. That the National Executive Committee take immediately the necessary preliminary steps toward the creation of such an organ (gathering of necessary funds, etc.).

3. That the National Executive Committee submit a detailed project on the publication of a central organ to the coming National Convention.

Resolution on the Agrarian Question.

The Conference finds:

1. That the plank demanding the Socialization of all land, which was stricken out by a national referendum of the SP be reinstated into the platform of the party.

2. That we should strongly reject any attempt of the SP to voice the interests of the farmers or some other non-proletarian social group on points not identical with those of the working class, no matter whether this be done by putting up compromising demands or by using compromising tactics.

Comment:—

Some people think that the change from private to corporate ownership of land to common ownership under the present capitalistic organization of so-

ciety necessarily involves socialization of the land.

In fact, this demand aims only to do away with speculation in land rents and proposes to pass over the rent from private landowners and corporations to social institutions. This may be realized either through nationalization of land or through municipal ownership of land. In the first case the whole nation takes over the land and manages it through its representatives; in the second case states, towns, or municipalities become landowners. In any case this measure does away with the landowning class, under whose grip whole nations are suffering at the present moment.

At the SP Congress at Chicago, [May 15-21] 1910, the farmers' committee and some speakers opposed the socialization of land, because they confused the issue. They stated that it was the duty of the Socialist Party to support the farmers as a subjugated social group. The support of the farmers, however, means the defense of their private ownership and artificial maintenance of their small households, which can not stand the competition for a large one. The farmers' committee draws no line just where the support should cease.

In the first place, this is not the duty of the SP, since it is the party of the working class and not a farmers' party. In the second place, such aim is a utopia which can never be realized. The farmers' committee at the Chicago Congress formulated not the demands of farm laborers, but those of the farmers. The so-called problems of rural development, the irrigation of farm lands, insurance of livestock, improvements, etc., are entirely out of place in a Socialist congress. Farmers' societies or agricultural development companies have to deal with those problems. We have to be on the lookout that our party should not be tied up with the demands of an economically decaying class of small bourgeoisie.

Resolution on Our Attitude Towards the Church.

The conference finds:

1. That our members ought to be enlightened about the evolution of the universe, development of mankind, and other important matters of natural science in order that any kind of superstition may be eliminated from amidst our ranks.

2. That the church and its teachings should be directly opposed where it tries to taken a hand in the class struggle with attempt to bridge over the class conflict, that is:

(a) We should opposed the teaching of religion in the schools in any masked or unmasked form, since it is calculated to cultivate the spirit of serfdom among the young generation.

(b) We should opposed the mixing of religious questions into the economic strife, in the strikes, in the trade unions, at their conventions, etc.

(c) We should denounce the reactionary conduct of the servants of the church, of the Catholic bishops, of the priests of the Civic Federation, and other Socialist eaters, who are opposed to the democratization of our political institutions, who are fighting against the initiative, referendum, recall, against women's suffrage and other urgent and timely reforms.

3. The conference advises the members of the party to abstain from any anti-religious agitation within the parishes or similar religious bodies.

Comment:—

It is not our task to investigate the evolution of religious views. All we have got to state is how to carry out the plank of our party program which requests that religion be a private affair of the individual.

While large masses of the people are in complete ignorance about the most elementary parts of natural science, it is an east task for the church to beguile the workers and to make them intellectual cripples. Once they have become such, they gladly accept the spiritual crutches extended to them by the servants of the church and thus religious beliefs gradually become a public concern, a social necessity.

In order to put a check upon the deadly influence of the teachings of the church upon men's minds, it is necessary to disseminate knowledge about nature — a task which has been entirely neglected in this country. In destroying man's superstition about nature we take away one of the foundations on which every religion rests.

The complexity and the uncertainty of our social life under capitalism breeds timidity of intellect, it furthers fatalism, which is another pillar of the church. Man has ceased to be ruler of his destiny under capitalism. To be sure there are a few gods among men,

whose purses control the destinies of millions of toilers.

Science is the best antidote against religion. Where science comes in, beliefs and creeds must give way. Instead of belief and faith we put conviction, based on freedom of conscience. Freedom of conscience is broader than freedom of belief. It includes both freedom of belief and freedom of non-belief. A man can believe what he will. He may not believe anything. Similarly, freedom of speech includes both the right to speak and the right to keep silent. Freedom of assemblage includes both the right to speak and the right to keep silent. Freedom of assemblage includes freedom to stay from meetings which you do not approve. Some members of the party (Comrade Shier in the SP Bulletin) seem to have confused notions about the task of the Social Democracy. They do not yet realize that Social Democracy has not undertaken to defend any religion, not even the Christian faith. Scientific Socialism can not be Christian or pagan, just as there is no Jewish arithmetic or Catholic astronomy.

The ethics of socialism and religion are directly opposed to each other. Christianity preaches brotherly love for all, Socialism discriminates among social classes. It preaches the class struggle among those whose interests are opposed. It does not create the class war, but it does explain it, while the church tries to conceal it. Socialism maintains that through class struggle the workers will eventually win and do away with class differences. Socialism bases all its ideals on this "sinful world;" the church can not help preaching about some other world. Socialism condemns what hurts the working class, it commends what helps to improve the conditions of the working class. The church puts its stamp of approval (good) or disapproval (bad) according to some superhuman ethics, dictated by being unknown to mankind.

The church tries to organize strikers according to their creeds, as was seen in the recent Illinois Central Railroad strike. Thus the class solidarity of the workers is impaired and their enemies triumph. The dragging in of the Carpenter of Nazareth into discussions at trade unions conventions is a silly attempt to distract the worker's attention from the main issues. The "Militia of Christ" has become an active enemy of the workers and is helping the state militia to crush the strikers. The role of the church as a strike-breaking agency should be made plain to the workers.

It is true that the church is struggling hard to save its vanishing power. It promises the workers to help them. We should refuse such a help. In a land where the organization of political parties and the participation in political action is free to everybody, we can not recognized any intermediaries for the attainment of our political ends.

Party members should not tolerate any political censure of their churches over their political action, and they should withdraw from such religious bodies who are opposing the decisions of our party.

Our party should not waste any time or money on anti-religious agitation within the church organizations. Where religion has really become a private affair, there is no need for our agitation. As long as the gods remain confined to their temples, they can cause no direct harm to the class struggle.

Resolution on the SP's Tactics in the Legislative and Executive Institutions.

I.

1. Whereas, The demands of the working class can best be realized and defended when the largest [possible] masses of the population are involved in the struggle for those demands.

2. Whereas, The employers in different states of the union are refusing to comply with the demands of the workers on the ground that progressive labor legislation restricting the exploitation of workers will make them unable to compete with employers in similar industries in other states; such motives are often endorsed by the people and are a stumbling block against necessary labor legislation.

3. Whereas, The centralized class struggle of the proletariat needs a broader basis in order to facilitate the conquest of the central political powers in the US for the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth.

We declare:

1. That all legislation having any bearing upon the people of the United States as a whole should be concentrated in the Congress at Washington, while at the same time the state legislatures and other legislative bodies should be made use of.

2. That it is unbecoming to reserve the right to sign the petitions of the SP solely to the citizens of the United States, since a large portion of the workers of the United States are not yet citizens.

3. That such petitions in places where there are already representatives of the SP should be presented only through those representatives.

II.

Whereas, The experiences of the proletariat in the class struggle up to the present time have demonstrated:

1. That any success in the labor legislation is directly dependent upon the organized power of the masses.

2. That the elections, generally speaking, are helpful to the organization work of the Social Democracy, but that the parliamentary struggle in a more restricted sense, is chiefly a means of agitation.

3. That the activities of representatives of the SP in legislatures are only one part of our party action, and that only the respective central institutions of the party can successfully coordinate and lead this action.

4. That in all cases the action of the SP representative in those institutions fails if it is not backed up by political action of the workers outside the legislatures.

We regard as indispensable:

1. That all steps of the representatives of our party in the said institutions, except in unforeseen cases, be taken in full accord with the decisions of the party.

2. That the leading institutions of the SP have to use all means in order to back up each important measure of the working class by mass action: by meetings, demonstrations, petitions, and similar means.

3. That all SP factions in the legislatures have to use their positions in the interest of the revolutionary agitation of the SP in presenting its demands uncompromisingly and in criticizing unreservedly the measures of the bourgeois parties and the government.

4. That any attempt of the representatives of the bourgeois parties to propagate their measures through compromising bills and through surrender of the workers' demands be condemned as being opportunistic and harmful to the class struggle.

Secretary C. Karklin
6 Chestnut Ter., Boston, Mass.

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